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MAY 15, 1947

Town Meeting



BROADCAST BY STATIONS OF THE AMERICAN BROADCASTING CO.

BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR



Should We Continue the "Voice of America" Broadcasts?

Moderator, GEORGE V. DENNY, JR.

Speakers

CARL A. HATCH

JOHN TABER

RALPH E. MCGILL

FRANK WALDROP

(See also page 12)

COMING

—May 22, 1947—

How Can We Avoid an Economic Bust?

—May 29, 1947—

How Can We Strengthen the American Family?

Published by THE TOWN HALL, Inc., New York 18, N.Y.

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CONTENTS



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THE BROADCAST OF MAY 15:

"Should We Continue the 'Voice of America' Broadcasts?"

<i>Mr. DENNY</i>	3
<i>Senator HATCH</i>	4
<i>Congressman TABER</i>	6
<i>Mr. MCGILL</i>	7
<i>Mr. WALDROP</i>	9
THE SPEAKERS' COLUMN	12
QUESTIONS, PLEASE!	15

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"How Can We Strengthen the American Family?"

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BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

GEORGE V. DENNY, JR., MODERATOR



MAY 15, 1947

VOL. 13, No. 3

Should We Continue the "Voice of America" Broadcasts?

Moderator Denny:

Good evening, neighbors, and thanks to you, Dr. Wendell Fifield for inviting us to Plymouth Church of the Pilgrims here in Brooklyn on your 100th Anniversary celebration. We had rather intended to discuss a religious subject here tonight, but in view of the urgency of this matter now before Congress — a matter in which all of us have a vital stake — we switched to the subject, "Should We Continue the 'Voice of America' Broadcasts to Foreign Lands?"

Most of you know by now that the Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs in our State Department has, for the past year, been broadcasting a program called the "Voice of the United States of America," to 24 foreign countries in their native languages.

In an average month, 36 short-wave transmitters broadcast nearly 5,000 separate programs covering

approximately 1,800 broadcast hours.

The stated purpose of these broadcasts is to give the peoples of other nations a full and fair picture of American life, its problems, and its efforts to solve them, to explain American aims and policies, to correct wrong impressions and distortions, to report factual, unbiased world news, and in general, to widen international understanding.

Right here is where our controversy begins. Such a program costs money. Under the present conditions it must be paid for by the taxpayers of the United States. The question of the appropriation of funds to continue these broadcasts is up before the Appropriations Committee in the House of Representatives.

Congressman John Taber of New York, from whom we'll hear in a moment, is chairman of this Committee, and he's one of the

most outspoken critics of these broadcasts. Secretary of State Marshall has asked for the appropriation to continue them. And, now, the debate is on.

Senator Carl Hatch of New Mexico and Mr. Ralph McGill, editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, are here to speak in favor of their continuance.

Congressman Taber and Mr. Frank Waldrop of the *Washington Times Herald*, will take the opposing view. May we hear first from the distinguished Democratic Senator from the State of New Mexico, member of the Foreign Relations Committee, the Honorable Carl A. Hatch. Senator Hatch. (*Applause.*)

Senator Hatch:

A splendid audience, Dr. Denny. The battle of ideas has been joined everywhere in the world. The efforts of totalitarianism to crush the ideas of democracy have been carried over from the late war into this precarious peace. In these peacetime conflicts, words are weapons, but they can only be effective if and as they are true words.

The Overseas Information Service is the only weapon by which the truth is transmitted. It has had but 17 short months of life, but during that time it has strongly supported our diplomatic representatives overseas. It has given to foreign peoples a better understanding of our people — we

Americans, the kind we are, why we do things, the who, what and why of the United States.

During its short life, the overseas service has broadcast by short wave radio in 26 languages, more than 56 hours a day, to Europe, the Far East, and Latin America. It has supplied a daily bulletin to embassies abroad, so that our diplomats and the domestic press and radio in other countries may have the full text of important American statesmen.

It has established American information libraries in 70 foreign cities, which have been used during the past year by more than three million foreign people. In countless other ways, the information service is giving a true picture of America—her way of life, aims and ideals—to all the world.

But the most important issue of all is: Do these efforts to so portray America to the rest of the world tend toward war or peace? Should they be continued?

That question I shall not answer. Rather, I choose to give the word of the man best qualified to answer — a soldier, diplomat and statesman, General George Marshall, our Secretary of State, in his first press conference after taking his new post, answered said, "It seems to me to be absolutely essential that from somewhere, in this case the United States, we endeavor to cover the earth with the truth—the unad-

terated, pure truth — without any twist or implication, in the midst of a world in riot of propaganda.”

He later told the members of the House Appropriations Committee, “One effective way to promote peace is to dispel misunderstanding, fear, and ignorance. Foreign people should know the nature and objectives of our foreign policy. They should have a true understanding of American life. This is the purpose of our information program.”

Secretary Marshall wants the program continued. In order to fulfill the delicate and responsible task in which he is now engaged, having placed full responsibility upon his shoulders, should we not also give him the tools he requires to do the job? He does not want, or need, to reply to abuse by abuse. He insists that nothing but facts be given. Give the bad with the good, steadily and fairly, in the conviction that the truth is the best propaganda in the long run.

Outside of those who wish the Information Service discontinued in this country, its chief opponents are those ideological opponents in other nations. The Soviet Union would like to see it go. The Kremlin has unleashed its top-flight propagandist, Ilya Ehrenburg, against the Voice of America.

Marshall Tito's house organ has gloated in premature obituary of

the death of the American voice. And as late as May 8, broadcasting in many different languages, Mr. Ehrenburg compared our broadcasts with those of Goebbels, when he said, “To hear the same motives in a more democratized version, tune in on the New York wave lengths.”

Under these conditions, when Secretary Marshall has specifically requested the continuance of America's Voice, when a reasonably efficient job is being done, when the Department is actively seeking to achieve a higher degree of efficiency, even as it is constantly under attack, at home and abroad, because it is upholding American prestige, shall we ourselves destroy it?

Shall we disarm in the war of words while those who misrepresent us and distort our views are increasing their armament? Such is not the way of wisdom, patriotism, or statesmanship. The voice of America shall never be stilled. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Senator Hatch. These are busy days for all members of Congress, but particularly for the Chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, Representative John Taber, Republican from New York, who will speak to us from Washington. Congressman Taber. (*Applause.*)

Congressman Taber:

Dr. Denny and the Town Hall audience. I thank you very much for the privilege of saying a word or two to you tonight. Let me say, first, before I begin, that the House of Representatives, without a record vote, today passed the appropriation bill without an appropriation for the so-called Voice of America.

I have been asked whether we should continue it. My answer is: Not on any such basis as it has been operated in the past. There is no hope for its successful operation under the management of Mr. Benton. In one and one-half years, he has failed to get rid of those whose first loyalty is not to the United States. He has not gotten rid of foolish operations.

Many who are involved in this controversy over the Voice have not investigated the situation. I have gone into it firsthand. I have requisitioned some of the actual broadcasts and State Department reports on the broadcasts and have had them reviewed.

The results brought me to the conclusion that the Voice is doing more harm than good. Many of them seem designed deliberately, either to bring the United States into disrepute, or to destroy its position in the world. Others are silly or confusing.

In instance after instance, the broadcasts expressed partisan opinions about events in this country.

Almost without exception the opinions took the part of the Administration and of organized labor. Where business or the Republicans figured in a controversial matter, they generally got the worst of it.

There's no excuse for partisanship in the broadcast to foreign countries. It is on a par with Henry Wallace's trip abroad for the specific purpose of praising Russia and attacking the United States.

I shall list briefly some of the things that they have broadcast which I consider improper and ridiculous. These items come from broadcasts which were made April 21, April 25 and April 28 of this year.

There was one, a very short period, devoted to news of the Moscow Conference, which Secretary Marshall was attending. There were hours devoted to book reviews of books printed in the United States. One book was about Henry Wallace. The publication glorified Henry Wallace and apparently was designed to hinder Secretary Marshall's efforts to bring about a peace settlement since Henry Wallace, at that time, was in England and France attacking this country's foreign policy.

On April 28 there was a broadcast about Henry Wallace by a man named McKnight. I may say that this man, McKnight, was taken over from OWI, and that's enough. This particular broadcast

tends to exaggerate, in a very destructive way, the influence of Mr. Wallace in the United States. It refers to the honesty of Mr. Wallace's conviction — something which I think few of us are prepared to admit.

How such a thing as that could be broadcast on April 28, with conditions in the world as they are, I cannot understand.

There was a book review by Robert S. Allen entitled *Anthology of an American City*, describing corruption in the government in American cities. How is that going to do anything except to hold America up to ridicule?

Fourth, there was a broadcast of another book review on American cities describing Denver, and how in its early days it was customary for the inhabitants to shoot each other on sight. It described how one man built an opera house and the architect hung Shakespeare's picture in the entrance hall. The opera house owner ordered the picture taken down and his own put up. Such silly things as this are not going to build up good will for America.

Five, there were a lot of dialogues on poetry, health, art and agriculture which evidently were gotten up by a lot of people who did not understand what they were talking about, and these statements were not clear enough so that any intelligent person could understand them.

The script that I was given said there was music in between some of the broadcasts. Whether that was any good or not I would not be able to tell because I was not told what it was.

The proponents of this program, in order to deceive the people, call it the "Voice of America." You people here in America are paying \$31,000,000 for that alleged voice of America. Do you like to be humbugged and swindled in that way? For my own part, I do not.

I think that it is about time that America woke up. If America's voice must be broadcast to other countries, it must be the voice of the United States and not the voice of those subversive elements who are trying to destroy the United States and trying to destroy the good will of the other countries towards us. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Congressman Taber. Our next speaker was a member of a three-man around-the-world commission investigating freedom of information. He's the distinguished editor of the *Atlanta Constitution* of Atlanta, Georgia, Mr. Ralph E. McGill. Welcome to Town Meeting, Mr. McGill. (*Applause.*)

Mr. McGill:

Mr. Denny, ladies and gentlemen. I am in agreement, naturally, with Senator Hatch. Mr. Taber

talked a moment ago and listed only a few faults. Apparently if Mr. Taber had an earache he would cure it by cutting off his head. (*Applause.*)

The review of the Wallace book was not laudatory except to say that it was well written which it is. Any truthful broadcast could not ignore the fact that Wallace is news.

Mr. Taber's own colleagues have revealed the fact that the excerpts he has been using are themselves distortions of the complete texts of these broadcasts. For example, he mentioned a moment ago a Mr. McKnight as having been taken over from OWI and as having made the Wallace book review. Mr. McKnight was never with OWI. He never made the broadcast. During the war period, he worked with the Department of Justice and his loyalty is unquestioned.

In all kindness, I submit it is Mr. Taber who needs to be more careful of facts. No broadcast that he has described as silly and ridiculous is as silly and ridiculous as these charges by Mr. Taber of subversive influences and disloyalty. (*Applause.*)

Last year, one soap company in this country spent \$30,000,000, mostly on radio, to sell the women of this country soap. I offer no objection, but I do offer objection as an American to the proposal, that this country should not be allowed to spend as much

money on a program of truthful information.

I want them to know that we are not a Nation of imperialists, militarists, gangsters, and bootlickers as the Russian propaganda service daily informs Europe and South America.

I want them to know we are not a Nation of Hollywood divorcees that our daily fare is not race riots and strikes. I want them to know these things when they occur, but I also want them to know we are a Nation where dams are built where wheat is grown, where children are fed milk, where we have musicians, artists, writers, and good, well-meaning people who want peace and who have a way of life they believe is best productive of a good standard of living and peace. (*Applause.*)

Who is on my side?

Secretary of State Marshall speaking out of his personal experience and not out of some partisan anger in the halls of Congress, says that it is vital.

Secretary of Commerce Harold G. Ickes, a man hasn't been just in Congress but has been Ambassador to the Soviet Union and the Court of St. James, and he says it's necessary.

General Dwight D. Eisenhower, Admiral Nimitz, out of their own experience, view it as imperative. Present Ambassador to the Soviet Union Bedell Smith, puts it first on his priority list.

In the name of God, I ask if it isn't ridiculous to assume that

these men would declare vital anything which was Leftist or unnecessary.

It has been said it does not reach an audience. The Russians say they are hearing it. Marshal Tito says his people are listening.

Thousands of letters commenting on the program, asking for more information about American people, have been received. About 84 per cent of almost half a million letters asked to be put on the mailing list for schedules. In the first four months of this year, almost 80,000 such letters have been received in 14 languages and keep in mind that in some countries no letters may be written or sent.

Last year I saw it, and the year before, working children and men and women flocking to our libraries and our educational movies all over the world.

There's been so much of pettiness in this opposition. Those who disliked the OWI transferred their dislike to this service. It's not the same service. Congressman Taber talks about reducing personnel. OWI and OIAA had about 11,000 personnel in the last year of the war. OIC has reduced to about 3,000 and I submit its responsibilities are as great as during the war.

I think we believe in fair play yet some of the opponents of this service, which Secretary of State George Marshall declares to be vital, attack its director, William

Benton, because, of all things, he was a partner of Chester Bowles twelve long years ago. Well, as far as I'm concerned, Chester Bowles is looking better every day as a prophet. (*Applause.*) But he has nothing to do with William Benton or the OIC.

The critics make this error. They forget the programs necessarily are aimed not at Americans who know about their country, but at peoples in other lands who don't. The programs must be keyed to that fact, and naturally to Americans they sometimes seem trivial or too simple. I submit that this voice must be allowed, in the name of this country, to continue. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Ralph McGill. Now we're to hear from another distinguished journalist who's completely on the other side of the fence from Senator Hatch and Mr. McGill on this question. Mr. Frank Waldrop, columnist of the *Washington Times Herald*. Mr. Waldrop. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Waldrop:

Ladies and gentlemen, I will let you in on a little secret. If I were operating the Voice of America for the State Department, it would be worse than it is now—and it's terrible. Furthermore, I don't think any of you could improve it much, for it is my point tonight that nobody can successfully run a government propaganda mill out

of this Republic in time of peace. I assume we're still in search of peace, even though Senator Hatch and Mr. McGill are roaring to join an ideological war, which is the first round in a war of blood.

America is too big, too many-sided, too contradictory for any one group of politicians to put it on the radio. We move in too many directions at one time. Just when these bureaucratic Bob Hopes have explained us one way, we jump the other.

If you're in any doubt about that ask Mr. Secretary Benton to untackle his boys' performance in this celebrated Henry Wallace case. Maybe they didn't mean to get into trouble, but they did. For evidence, I cite you the news given you tonight by Chairman Taber of the House Appropriations Committee. For trouble breeds inevitably out of the very nature of their undertaking.

Let us give these fellows all the breaks. Let us say they are not trying to misrepresent America, which is a wide-open issue in itself, but are actually trying to tell the people of the world what goes on here.

Well, we have a good country. It is the envy of the rest of mankind. Therefore, the news about America is not talk by somebody in or out of public office. The news to the starved, robbed, ruined people of Europe is that we're better off than they can ever hope to be. Real news to the millions

in Russia, now outward-bound on another five-year plan of sweat and slavery and privation, is that in America freedom is king and it's profitable, too.

The news of America to the world is not that Gromyko has just said "No" again down at the Clown Hall of the United Nations so-called, but that you can now get a seat in a restaurant, with butter.

Suppose it were possible for the alleged voice of America really get that dynamic and explosive news across to China, to India, to Russia, and to Europe. Would you call it good propaganda if you were the government in charge of those miserable and unhappy millions?

You know and I know the what would happen, if the truth about America ever got home to those people, is that they would move to revolt. Therefore, you may be sure that the government concerned will do all in their power to kill that prospect. If killing that prospect leads to killing people, well, there's not a government in Europe or Asia today hesitating any timidity about that.

Is it more blood we want? Haven't we had enough of that? It was not so long ago that we leaped, or fell, into another sad state to straighten out our errand brothers of mankind—the second in this century.

We said we were going to deliver an Atlantic Charter and B

Freedoms, and something called the United Nations and as soon as that was done we'd all live happily ever after. Can you remember all those things?

Does this international yapping contest between Mr. Benton's Crosbys and Stalin's Sinatras reflect anything on that line? Is that what America meant to buy with one million casualties and a 260 billion dollar debt out of World War II?

"Well, no," say the apologists for our side, "but the Russians are trying to mislead the world, so we've got to straighten it out."

Why? The least we can expect from this propaganda project, is that it will waste some more of our money. The most it can do is harass and provoke the Russians into bloody retaliation.

Finally, let us admit that if we must make propaganda, the best propaganda is not words but deeds. Let us make the noble propaganda of minding our own business. (*Applause.*) By that I mean—and I'm sure this is going to bring down the house—withdraw our troops from abroad, reduce our financial and diplomatic commitments as rapidly as possible, give the other people of the world a chance to find their own destinies, the same way we found ours. And that, if any of you may remember, was on our own. I thank you. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Mr. Waldrop. Now, gentlemen, we have time for a brief discussion before we take questions from the audience, so Senator Hatch, if you and Mr. McGill and Mr. Waldrop will join me up here around the microphone, we'll have a short discussion including Congressman Taber in Washington. Senator Hatch, perhaps we'd better hear from you first. Senator?

Senator Hatch: Thank you, Dr. Denny. First, I want to address a remark to Mr. Taber in Washington, to which he may reply if he so desires. Mr. Taber, your news about leaving out the appropriation for this service today in the House was not a surprise to me. I had anticipated that that would happen. But I refuse to let this audience believe that that is a final action. Mr. Taber, I think that you will quite agree with me that it is not final and does not settle this question. (*Applause.*)

Congressman Taber: That does not settle it if the State Department cleans house and straightens out that broadcasting set-up to the point where it gets down to what is needed and to what is really in the interests of America and not a lot of stuff that ought not to be broadcast.

I think that American people are aroused to insist upon cleaning up a bad situation and I think you

realize that yourself. (*Applause.*)

Senator Hatch: Yes, Mr. Taber, you agree, I know, to just what you have said. Let us strengthen, let us correct, let us improve, but for goodness sakes, let us not kill and destroy the Voice of America. (*Applause.*)

Congressman Taber: The ones who are trying to destroy it are those who are trying to cover up the weaknesses and the vicious operations that they have been pulling off.

Mr. Denny: All right, thank you Mr. Taber. Mr. McGill, have you a comment?

Mr. McGill: I think it needs clearing up, because the opinion I am sure, held by many persons is that the whole thirty million dollars, or a little over thirty million dollars, requested is simply for the Voice of America.

There are many libraries. I have seen them in at least a dozen countries, including Turkey and China where thousands each week would

THE SPEAKERS' COLUMN

CARL A. HATCH—In the United States Senate, Mr. Hatch is chairman of the committee on Public Lands and Surveys. He is also a member of the following committees: Foreign Relations, Judiciary, Irrigation and Reclamation, Indian Affairs, and the National Defense Investigating Committee.

A Democrat from Clovis, New Mexico, Senator Hatch served as Assistant Attorney General of New Mexico in 1917-18; was appointed Collector of Internal Revenue for the District of New Mexico in 1919; was appointed District Judge January 1, 1923, and elected to that office in 1924 for a six-year term.

In 1929, Senator Hatch resigned as District Judge to re-enter practice of law. He was appointed to the U. S. Senate in 1933 to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Sam G. Bratton. In 1934, he was elected to the office and was reelected in 1936 and 1942.

JOHN TABER—Republican Congressman from Auburn, New York, John Taber, is chairman of the House Appropriations Committee. Mr. Taber was educated in the public schools, at Yale University (B.A., 1902), and the New York Law School. He was admitted to the New York bar in 1904. From 1911 to 1919, he was a special county judge in Cayuga County, N.Y. He has been a delegate to several National Republican Conventions.

Representative Taber was elected to the 68th Congress (1923) and has been consistently reelected since that time.

RALPH EMERSON MCGILL—Mr. McGill was born in Soddy, Tennessee, in 1898. He attended McCallie Preparatory School and Vanderbilt University. His college days were interrupted by service in the Marine Corps during World War I. He received an honorary LL.B. from Atlanta Law School, in 1938. For a year he was sports editor on the *Banner* in Nashville, Tennessee. In 1931, he became sports editor of the *Constitution* in Atlanta, Georgia. In 1938, he was made executive editor and since 1942, he has been editor.

Mr. McGill has served as special advisor and consultant to the Department of State. He was chairman of his selective service board from 1940 to 1944. In 1937, Mr. McGill was awarded the Rosenwald Fellowship for travel in Europe.

FRANK CAMPBELL WALDROP—Mr. Waldrop, who has been on the staff of the *Washington Times Herald* since 1933, was born in Veto, Alabama, in 1905. He received his formal education at U.S. Military Academy, Columbia University, and Andrew Jackson Law School. After a period as reporter on the *Nashville Tennessean* and on the *New York Evening Journal*, he became city editor of the *Tennessean* and then managing editor. In 1933, he went to the *Washington Herald* (now the *Times Herald*) where he has been reporter, editorial writer, editor of the editorial page, managing editor, and political editor.

Mr. Waldrop is the author (with Joseph Borkin) of *Television—A Struggle for Power* and editor of *MacArthur On War*. He has also contributed to magazines.

come and see these things plus our educational movies.

Also, it is not fair to say that the whole appropriation is for that when I'm sure that Congressman Taber—for whom I have the utmost respect, but I hope that we can clean up his facts and anything that he wants cleaned up in the program, too—knows that almost seven million dollars of that is money needed to establish relay stations and to strengthen the physical properties of the Voice of America.

I think it is a very cheap amount. If we have spent over 300 billion dollars to support our way of life in a war, if we have just voted 300 million for Greece and Turkey to support our way, in God's name, what's wrong with spending 30 million dollars to keep our voice before the peoples who want to hear it? (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Now, Mr. Waldrop, what is wrong?

Mr. Waldrop: Now, I don't want to make another speech. I just want to ask a little question and see if the Senator or Mr. McGill cares to answer it. How do you gentlemen suppose the government of Russia feels about this propaganda project?

Senator Hatch: I'm afraid that Mr. Waldrop didn't listen to me when I made my opening statement. I said, "Russia wants this program killed."

Mr. Waldrop: I think that's absolutely correct. (*Applause and laughter.*) I think that it should be killed for the reason that if it is effective, ladies and gentlemen, make no mistake about it, it leads to a war of blood. Those people are not going to recede from those places in the world where they care to stand simply because Mr. Benton likes to put some of those people on the radio, down there in Washington, about whom I say the less said the better.

Mr. Denny: Senator Hatch?

Senator Hatch: Just one more word, Mr. Waldrop. I think we should make it clear that you and I completely disagree. I want to ask you, Mr. Waldrop, if it is not true that your ideas go much further than killing the Voice of America, but you would withdraw and not participate in world affairs to any extent or degree whatever. In short, that you believe in the isolationist theory and course. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Waldrop: If there had been any doubt, which I trust there has not, the answer is yes. (*Applause and boos.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Congressman Taber, have you anything to add at this point?

Congressman Taber: Why, it seems to me that the best service, that Senator Hatch, Mr. McGill, and Secretary Marshall could perform in connection with this job would be to read some of these

broadcasts, as I have. Then they might be where they would help to clean the picture up. I am sure that they would have the disposition to, after they had read them.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Senator Hatch has a comment on that.

Senator Hatch: I merely want to answer Congressman Taber—not to let him have the sole monopoly on reading these broadcasts—I have read them, Mr. Taber, and I have reached a far different conclusion than you have reached.

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Senator Hatch. Now while we get ready for our question period of this fine Brooklyn audience, I am sure that you, our listeners, will be interested in the following message.

Announcer: You are listening to America's Town Meeting of the Air, brought to you by Town Hall and the American Broadcasting Company. For your convenience, we print each week the Town Meeting Bulletin, containing a complete transcript of tonight's discussion, including the questions and answers to follow. You may secure tonight's Town Meeting Bulletin by writing to Town Hall, New York 18, New York, enclosing 10 cents to cover the cost of printing and mailing.

If you would like to have the bulletin in the handy pocket-size, come to you regularly each week, enclose \$1 for 11 weeks, \$2.35 for six months, or \$4.50 for one year. Remember the address: Town Hall, New York 18, New York, and allow at least two weeks for delivery.

Your letters on our contemporary topic, "How Can We Strengthen the American Family?" have kept us very busy this week. We have received a total of 6,200 letters—3,500 from women and 2,700 from men. More letters came from California than from any other state. New York was second, Illinois third, Pennsylvania fourth, with Michigan and Ohio almost tied for fifth place.

We know that you, our listeners, are as deeply concerned about this question as we are. On behalf of the chairman of our committee of judges, Mrs. Horter Odum, we want to thank you for your many fine suggestions.

We hope to be able to announce the winners on next week's broadcast, two of whom will appear in our 12th Anniversary program May 29.

Now we return you to Mr. Denny.

QUESTIONS, PLEASE!

Mr. Denny: Would you like to earn a \$210 set of *Encyclopedia Americana*? Yes, we've fallen for giving prizes too. Our local committee of judges is standing by listening for the question which the committee considers best for bringing out new facts and increasing our understanding of this subject. If you ask this question, provided it is limited to 25 words, you will receive a 30-volume set of the *Encyclopedia Americana*. We'll start with the question from the young man in the balcony.

Man: Mr. Waldrop, isn't it sound business, while spending \$400,000,000 fighting communism abroad materially, to allocate a mere \$31,000,000 for the vital, spiritual, psychological conflict?

Mr. Waldrop: No. The sound business would be to fight communism at home first, which has been abandoned as a process of fighting. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: The young man here.

Man: I'd like to address my question to Mr. McGill. Can't the encroachment of communism abroad be more effectively stopped by shipments of food rather than by the use of cultural and informational propaganda?

Mr. McGill: I think certainly that food shipments will help, but you can't conquer with food alone. Ideas still remain very powerful

and must be put over from our point of view. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. This gentleman right here.

Man: My question is addressed to Mr. Waldrop. How can the complete withdrawal of the United States assure peace today, when the same withdrawal in the '20's brought us no peace? (*Applause.*)

Mr. Waldrop: I didn't say it would assure us peace today, but I think it will keep us from getting a bloody nose for at least a longer time than we're going to get it if we stick our nose exactly into somebody else's business now. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. The lady in the balcony.

Lady: Congressman Taber. If unnecessary commodities merit spending enormous sums through advertising, why not the comparatively moderate sum involved to advertise the democratic way of life where unknown?

Congressman Taber: Well, the trouble is that it hasn't advanced the democratic way of life. It has been extremely partisan. It has foisted on the ideas of the party in control at the White House, as against the rest of the country, and it has not been the Voice of America. I want it cleaned up so that if it's going to be broadcast it will be the Voice of America.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Senator Hatch has a comment on that.

Senator Hatch: Congressman Taber, you have mentioned several times a partisan program. I want to ask you, is it not a fact that there is now pending in the House of Representatives, HR-3342, a bill to authorize this type of service and if it is not sponsored and introduced by a Republican, Mr. Mundt, one of your own party?

Congressman Taber: Yes, and it was drawn by the State Department and the Committee now is in process of trying to prepare amendments that might prevent the operation from continuing to be something other than the Voice of America.

Mr. Denny: Thank you, sir. Now the gentleman here on the front row.

Man: I want to ask Senator Hatch, although I agree with him 100 per cent, if he thinks that the Voice of America will do any good if we show, at the same time, newsreels where we destroy mountains of potatoes with which we could feed hungry Europe or Asia?

Senator Hatch: I want to say to you that I am not defending anything that's been wrong with the program at all. Even, however, if that is true—what you have said—I think our program is such that the people of the world are entitled to know the truth.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. The gentleman here on the third row.

Man: My question is addressed to Mr. Waldrop. You just admitted being an isolationist and suggested withdrawing all Americans from the world. Did you approve our entering World War II, and if so, why? *(Laughter)*

Mr. Waldrop: How much time do you have? I don't want to answer that question because I don't think it deals with the subject.

Mr. Denny: No, that's right—that's an irrelevant question. *(Applause.)* All right, the gentleman on the first row in the balcony.

Man: Mr. McGill. How can we hope to conciliate the fundamental differences between Russia and the United States through the broadcasts suggested if by other means we haven't succeeded?

Mr. McGill: You have to make a beginning. One of the most interesting developments is the magazine, *America*, 50,000 copies of which are circulated in Russia each month and which have a tremendous audience—an estimated 400,000 persons reading them and liking to look at them. The magazine is strictly nonpartisan. I think that you have to make a beginning. Russia is experiencing a lot of difficulties with the Russian soldiers who have seen what we are doing in other parts of the world, and we might as well help out.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. The gentleman on the front row here

Man: Mr. Waldrop, if the Voice of America overseas is silenced, what constructive program do you offer to depict American democracy to the world? (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: You can hardly do that in one minute, can you?

Mr. Waldrop: I can give it in one sentence. Sir, the example of a good and happy country minding its own business. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Mr. Lemmon.

Man: Walter S. Lemmon, World Wide Broadcasting Foundation of Boston. I want to ask Senator Hatch, wouldn't it be more effective and economical to operate international broadcasting through existing independent broadcasting organizations like WIUL, desiring State Department co-operation, not control?

Senator Hatch: Mr. Lemmon, I was present the other day at the Secretary's office, when you were there and that question was answered by the representatives of the radio industry. When you said that "I am the odd chicken in the pot," all the others said "no"; you alone said "yes." (*Applause.*)

But, I want to add, Mr. Lemmon, that it is the purpose, as you well know, to utilize and to keep the door open, as in the words you used that day, "so that when private industry can do the job, it will have received the co-operation and assistance of the government."

We are not shutting the door on you, Mr. Lemmon. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. The gentleman right here in the brown suit.

Man: My question is addressed to Representative Taber. Mr. Taber seems to be telling us that if we change the Voice of America to the voice of Mr. Taber he will gladly appropriate money for broadcasts. (*Laughter.*)

Senator Taber: They seem to feel that I want to do the broadcasting. What we ought to do is broadcast General Marshall's statements and let him present the Voice of America instead of having a lot of drivel going over the air. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: I'm sorry, you'll have to make it a question, not a personal insinuation. No, that isn't quite fair either. Mr. Taber has said he doesn't like what is going on now. He hasn't said that he wants to do the broadcasts. Now let's have your question.

Man: If Mr. Taber's Appropriations Committee controls the salary of Congress and the Senate, would he cut off the salaries of the Congressmen and Senators who did not agree with Representative Taber?

Mr. Denny: No, no, no, that's not a fair question. Congressman Taber, we rule it out. That is a very unfair question. Let's have another question. (*Applause.*) All

right, another question for Congressman Taber.

Man: Congressman Taber. If United States discontinues the Voice of America, who is going to give the world the truth?

Mr. Denny: That question has already been asked. The young man back here. We are trying to get a question for you, Congressman. The man in the fourth row.

Man: Representative Taber. I feel the important question is how can we improve the Voice of America? Have you any concrete and practical suggestions to offer?

Congressman Taber: Very much so. I am going to deliver myself on that subject Saturday morning at 10 o'clock before the Foreign Affairs Committee. I believe that we should put somebody competent in charge of it, that we should broadcast the events in America in the same factual way that the Associated Press, the INS and the United Press report the news, and that in that broadcast should be included the statements of our representatives in the State Department who are stating the interests of America in such a way that the people in other lands may understand them. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Mr. Taber. Now, Mr. McGill has something on that.

Mr. McGill: I'm delighted that Congressman Taber wants some sort of program, but I would like to call his attention to the fact that the American Society of News-

paper Editors Committee, which was made up preponderantly of editors from Republican papers, made a study of this program and found it not distorted and found it to be, in their opinion, fair. I hope Congressman Taber will get a copy of the American Society Newspaper Editors Report and study it.

Congressman Taber: I wish Mr. McGill could see some of the broadcasts that I have laid out in front of me.

Mr. Denny: All right. The lady in the white hat.

Lady: I'd like to address the question to Senator Hatch. If we in America turn off the speaker with whom we've been educated to disagree, will Europeans be different and listen \$31,000,000 worth?

Senator Hatch: Nobody can answer as to the cost and value of how much good will come? I know that we appropriated over recently, and Congressman Taber did not object, nine million dollars to fight the hoof and mouth disease. I believe we could appropriate 10 or 15 million to fight the ideas which would kill and destroy our democracy and way of life.

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Mr. Waldrop?

Mr. Waldrop: Ladies and gentlemen, I want to call your attention to this point that has just come out. Senator Hatch compares competing ideologies of the world.

with the hoof and mouth disease, which is not unreasonable. (*Laughter.*) But if that is the basis on which we're doing business today, a \$31,000,000 boondoggle with a radio in the State Department is not going to cure it. Have you any other suggestions? (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. The gentleman in the last row balcony.

Man: My question is addressed to Congressman Taber. Did Mr. Taber find any acceptable material in the Voice of America programs he read? If so, what was the relative proportion?

Congressman Taber: I would say that the relative proportion of acceptable material was between five and eight per cent. (*Laughter.*) The rest of it was mostly things that would not tend to sell America to the rest of the world but were put in—more to keep people employed—getting them up, or something of that kind—than to really accomplish any purpose.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Now the lady under the balcony.

Lady: I address my question to Mr. Waldrop. In the interest of peace, how can a do-nothing policy accomplish anything it has not in the past?

Mr. Denny: How can a do-nothing policy accomplish anything if it has not in the past?

Mr. Waldrop: Well, at least it can keep us from getting in trouble which this do-something

policy is certainly bound to do. (*Applause and shouts.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. The gentleman back there in the center. Mr. McGill that's for you. Go ahead. Well, you held up three. Who has a question for Mr. McGill? The lady right there.

Lady: Mr. McGill, if European countries living close together and knowing each other well are a hotbed of wars, isn't there some danger in friction and war from broadcasts?

Mr. McGill: Not of this type. I tell you I saw in many of these countries school teachers and children coming to these libraries to see the films, to read the books, to get information to write essays on America—the tremendous hunger that people have for news about this country. And why? Because they want to find the answer that we have found and they want to try to find some way to be like us.

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Mr. McGill. Now while Mr. McGill and Mr. Waldrop prepare their summaries for tonight's question, here's a message of interest to you.

Announcer: At this point in the program, you are probably ready to express your opinion on tonight's question, or maybe you would like to ask a question. If we have guessed right, then we have a special suggestion for you.

Why not start a Town Meeting discussion group of your own in your living room, club, church or

school? Just invite a few friends over next Thursday night. Get one of your number to act as chairman and carry on your own Town Meeting discussion as soon as this program goes off the air.

You will enjoy it and profit more if each member of the group takes a few notes as the Town Meeting proceeds. Then you'll be ready for your own discussion.

This plan makes for good listening and good citizenship. Why not try it? New groups are being formed each week. Remember, your Town Meeting continues throughout the summer.

After two more weeks in Town Hall in New York, the programs will originate out in the Middle West, the Southwest and then, later on, out on the Pacific Coast. We may be visiting your community very shortly.

Now, here is Mr. Denny for the summaries.

Mr. Denny: For our final summaries, we're going to hear first from Mr. Frank Waldrop.

Mr. Waldrop: Ladies and gentlemen, I have one minute and I want to leave one thing with you. Very simply this: Does any one of you really, honestly believe that the way to peace in this world for the United States is to broadcast propaganda about the way we think the world should be and the wonderful, virtuous character that we claim ourselves to be in and among the rest of mankind, when

we know perfectly well, and you know it too, that by provoking other people who have not what you have, you are arousing the most violent animosities and enmities? That's all I have to say. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Frank Waldrop. Now, a final word from Ralph McGill.

Mr. McGill: I'm sorry Mr. Waldrop stated it in that fashion because it illustrates that he doesn't quite understand it. We aren't trying to tell the world what we want them to be. We're simply trying to let them know that we don't want war and that with our way of life and with our system of government we've established the best and most satisfactory standard of living there is in the world and if they want to emulate it, we'll be glad to help them. It's a good and good.

I also must say that Mr. Waldrop's suggestion that we withdraw from Europe and the rest of the world and gorge ourselves with the best of food and clothing, ourselves in the most luxurious raiment, is a little bit dismaying. We tried it once and it failed. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Ralph McGill, Frank Waldrop, Senator Hatch, and Congressman Taber. You gentlemen have given us both sides of this question. Now if our listeners can make up their minds before Congress acts, there is a better way for them to make the

opinions count than by writing directly to their Congressmen.

Ever since the war's end, we've been hearing about the possibility of a postwar depression. We are hearing more and more about it even now. Some people have said we have been trying to talk ourselves into a depression.

None of us knows just what's around the corner this time, but most people have an uneasy feeling that prices are too high and must come down. But will the process be gradual or sudden? Wouldn't you like to know?

We'll learn more about this next week when we hear from Chester Bowles, former head of the OPA; Senator Joseph H. Ball, Republican of Minnesota, and a member of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committees, discuss the question, "How Can We Avoid an Economic Bust?" Our special

interrogators will be Richard V. Gilbert, consulting economist and former advisor to OPA, and George Terborgh, economist and author of *The Bogey of Economic Maturity*.

Now tonight, our local committee of judges awards the \$210-set of the *Encyclopedia Americana* to Herb Wilner for the question, "How can the complete withdrawal of the United States assure peace today, when the same withdrawal assured no peace after the last war?" (*Applause.*)

I want to thank this very fine audience for their questions and to our host, Dr. Wendell Fifield, of the Plymouth Church of the Pilgrims here in Brooklyn.

We hope you'll plan to be with us next week and every week at the sound of the Crier's bell. (*Applause.*)

